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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0656
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

Chile Project (#S1999000030)

U.S. Department of State

Release ☒ Excise ☐ Deny ☐

Declassify: In Part ☐ In Full ☒

Exemption(s) ☐

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ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: KPRP, SCUL, PREL, PGOV, PINS, CI
SUBJ: PREVIEW OF PAPAL VISIT

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 1873
(B) ROME 6341
(C) SANTIAGO 1780
(D) 1986 SANTIAGO 3893

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE APRIL 1-6 VISIT BY POPE JOHN PAUL II TO CHILE, WHERE THE CHURCH'S ADVOCACY OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIZATION HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF ACUTE ANNOYANCE TO THE MILITARY REGIME, IS BOUND TO HAVE A POWERFUL, IMMEDIATE POLITICAL

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IMPACT, BUT ITS LONGER TERM EFFECTS ARE LESS CERTAIN. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RADICAL LEFT WILL TRY TO EXPLOIT THE VISIT, THE FORMER BY DEMONSTRATING TO CHILEANS THAT PINOCHET HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH HIS HOLINESS, AND THE LATTER BY TRYING TO SHOW "THE OTHER FACE OF CHILE" AS

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DRAMATICALLY AS POSSIBLE TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD. SOME OBSERVERS ARE CONCERNED THAT THE INTENSE CAMPAIGN OF PREPARATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS MAY HAVE AWAKENED EXPECTATIONS FOR CHANGE THAT COULD BE RUDELY DISAPPOINTED. GIVEN A DIVIDED CLERGY, THE POPE IS UNLIKELY TO MAKE THE KIND OF SHARP PUBLIC STAND HE TOOK AGAINST THE NICARAGUAN REGIME. BUT HE IS JUST AS UNLIKELY TO GIVE COMFORT TO PINOCHET. HE WILL GATHER HUGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE AROUND A MESSAGE OF HOPE AND RECONCILIATION, VALIDATING THE CHILEAN CHURCH'S COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY. AT BEST, IF THE MODERATE OPPOSITION IS PREPARED TO FOLLOW IT UP, HIS PRESENCE COULD SUBTLY ENCOURAGE A SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE AMONG THE ARMED FORCES AND THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION, AND HELP SPUR THE INCIPIENT MOVEMENT FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. GIVEN GOC INTRANSIGENCE AND SHARED DISTRUST, A MORE LIKELY OUTCOME WILL BE THAT ALL SIDES WILL ATTEMPT TO USE HIS WORDS TO BOLSTER THEIR OWN STANCES, WITH NO MAJOR NEAR-TERM IMPACT ON THE POLITICAL STALEMATE. END SUMMARY.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

3. FOR THE PAST SIX MONTHS CHILE HAS BEEN IN A
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STATE OF KEYED-UP EXPECTATIONS OVER THE APRIL 1-6 VISIT BY POPE JOHN PAUL II. THOUSANDS OF PARISHES HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND PLANNING TO SMOOTH THE POPE'S WAY. THE COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA HAVE BEEN REplete WITH ADVERTISING AND NEWS RELATED TO THE TOUR'S PREPARATION, THE POPE'S LIFE, HIS ROLE AS MEDIATOR OF THE BEAGLE CHANNEL ACCORD WITH ARGENTINA, AND AS THE "MESSENGER OF LIFE," THE CHURCH'S THEME FOR THE VISIT. POLLS SHOW THAT MOST CHILEANS HOPE THE PONTIFF'S PRESENCE WILL BRING ABOUT "SOCIAL RECONCILIATION," A BROAD BUT DEEPLY FELT GOAL. OVER A MILLION PERSONS HAVE CONTRIBUTED FUNDS TO THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE PAPAL VISIT. FACED WITH THE FIRST MAJOR HEAD OF STATE TO VISIT SANTIAGO UNDER PINOCHET, THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT HAS EMBRACED THE VISIT FERVENTLY, AS THOUGH THE LEGITIMACY AND INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE WHICH HAS ELUDED IT WOULD SOMEHOW BE CONFERRED.

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THE CHURCH ON THE FIRING LINE

4. POWERFUL AND DYNAMIC, THE CHURCH IN HEAVILY CATHOLIC CHILE IS ALSO AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL ACTOR. WITH OVER 2,000 PRIESTS, 7,000 NUNS AND MONKS, IT SERVES OVER 10 MILLION BELIEVERS, OR FOUR OUT OF EVERY FIVE CHILEANS. FOR DECADES ONE OF THE MOST SOCIALLY ACTIVE IN LATIN AMERICA, ITS ROLE AS DEFENDER OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE NEEDS OF THE POOR HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF ACUTE ANNOYANCE TO PINOCHET, WHO REGULARLY ACCUSES THE CHURCH OF EXCESSIVE POLITICIZATION AND HAS CALLED ITS VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY "MORE COMMUNIST THAN THE COMMUNISTS." UNLIKE ITS COUNTERPARTS IN BRAZIL

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AND CENTRAL AMERICA, THE CHILEAN CHURCH HAS FOCUSED ON THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS RATHER THAN THE THEOLOGICAL FORMULATIONS FOR SEEKING CHANGE. UNDER CARDINAL FRESNO IT SPEARHEADED THE "NATIONAL ACCORD," A FORMULA FOR UNITING THE MODERATE OPPOSITION BEHIND A PEACEFUL CAMPAIGN FOR A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY AND A DIALOGUE WITH THE ARMED FORCES. WHILE IT DID NOT ACHIEVE THE DESIRED OPENING, IT WON OVERWHELMING APPROVAL FROM THE COUNTRYMEN WHO SEE THE CHURCH AS FULFILLING ITS LEGITIMATE ROLE AND PROTECTING THEIR INTERESTS (REF D). THIS POPULARITY HAS

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BEEN REFLECTED IN A SURGE IN ATTENDANCE AT MASSES, A RISING NUMBER OF SEMINARIANS, AND ENHANCED PARTICIPATION BY LAY GROUPS SINCE THE START OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

5. THE ACUTE POLITICAL TENSIONS HAVE TAKEN THEIR TOLL WITHIN THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY. THE 30-MEMBER BISHOPS CONFERENCE IS SPLIT BETWEEN THOSE WHO FAVOR OR OPPOSE A MORE OUTSPOKEN STANCE. KNOWN AS THE "DISSIDENTS," ABOUT 13 BISHOPS WHO ARE IDENTIFIED WITH CONFERENCE SECRETARY GENERAL SERGIO CONTRERAS AND WITH JOSE MANUEL SANTOS OF CONCEPCION WANT THE CHURCH TO BE THE CUTTING EDGE FOR CHANGE. LED BY CARDINAL JUAN FRANCISCO FRESNO AND CONFERENCE PRESIDENT BERNARDINO PINERA, THE "MODERATE" OR CENTRIST BISHOPS SUPPORT DEMOCRATIZATION BUT FEEL THE CHURCH CANNOT AFFORD TO LEAD THE KIND OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT CRUSADE THAT WAS CARRIED OUT UNDER CARDINAL SIN OF THE PHILIPPINES. A HANDFUL OF BISHOPS ARE PRO-GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH THEY STAUNCHLY OPPOSE THE NOTION THAT THE CHURCH SHOULD INTERVENE IN SOCIAL OR POLITICAL ISSUES. THEIR SPIRITUAL GUIDE, JORGE MEDINA OF RANCAGUA, SERVES AS A MEMBER OF THE POWERFUL VATICAN COMMISSION ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

6. THE DELICATE BALANCE OF POWER IS TIPPED TOWARD THE CENTER-RIGHT BY THE PAPAL NUNCIO, ANGEL SODANO, WHO WHILE PRIVATELY CRITICAL OF PINOCHET IS HIGHLY CONCERNED ABOUT COMMUNIST INFILTRATION AND VERY CLOSE TO THE CONSERVATIVE MEDINA. "HE THINKS

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MENSAJE (A LEFT-LEANING JESUIT MAGAZINE) IS THE
SAME AS THE MDP (COMMUNIST-DOMINATED POLITICAL
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COALITION), " SAYS ONE KNOWLEDGEABLE OBSERVER.
THERE ARE SIGNS THAT CARDINAL FRESNO HAS GROWN
WEARY FROM FACING THE GOC BARRAGE AGAINST THE
VICARIATE AND ADJUDICATING THE TWO OPPOSING
BLOCKS IN PREPARATION FOR THE PAPAL VISIT. HIS
RETICENCE HAS AT TIMES ENCOURAGED A CONSERVATIVE
DRIFT, WITH A STRONG COUNTER-REACTION BY THE
LIBERALS.

WHO CONTROLS WHAT

7. BISHOP FRANCISCO COX, A CENTRIST WHO WAS CHOSEN
TO HEAD THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE PAPAL VISIT
OVER THE LIBERALS' OPPOSITION, IS KNOWN FOR HIS
CLOSE CONNECTIONS WITHIN THE VATICAN. HE HAS
STRESSED THE PASTORAL NATURE OF THE POPE'S MISSION,
WHILE WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES TO PRESS THE GOC
FOR "GESTURES" SUCH AS THE END OF EXILE WHICH
WOULD IMPROVE THE CLIMATE FOR THE VISIT. (PINOCHET
CHOSE THE LULL BEFORE THE POPE'S VISIT TO PASS THE
POLITICAL PARTIES LAW AND SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE THE
NUMBER OF EXILES, A SIGN OF HIS SENSITIVITY TO
PRESSURE FROM THE VATICAN.) A POTENTIAL PUBLIC
RELATIONS PROBLEM WAS AVERTED EARLY IN THE CAMPAIGN
WHEN THE INTERIOR MINISTRY AGREED TO HAVE THE
CARABINEROS, RATHER THAN THE SECRET POLICE (CNI),
TAKE CHARGE OF THE SECURITY ASPECTS OF THE PAPAL
VISIT. WHEN PINOCHET HARSHLY CRITICIZED THE
BISHOPS FOR "ACTING LIKE A POLITICAL PARTY" FOR
SPEAKING OUT ON THE FERNANDEZ LARIOS CASE, THE
SCHOOLTEACHER FIRINGS AND OTHER ISSUES, COX
DEFENDED THEIR STAND SAYING IT WAS WELL RECEIVED
DURING HIS RECENT MEETING WITH THE POPE.

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P 201809Z MAR 87
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INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

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8. THE POLITICAL CROSSFIRE HAS GIVEN RISE TO CONCERNS ON BOTH SIDES OVER THE POLITICAL UTILIZATION OF THE PAPAL VISIT. PRIVATELY, SOME DISSIDENT BISHOPS HAVE DISAPPROVED THE OVERSATURATION OF PROPOGANDA FOR THE VISIT. WHILE THE GOC HAS USED THE CAMPAIGN TO BLANKET OVER SOCIAL GRIEVANCES, IT CREATED OVERBLOWN EXPECTATIONS WHICH THE LEFT HAS USED TO ITS ADVANTAGE. THE CHRISTIAN LEFT (IC), WHICH ORIGINALLY OPPOSED THE VISIT AS A BOON TO PINOCHET, SWITCHED ITS FOCUS TO MAKING IT A SOUNDING BOARD FOR DISCONTENT. TOGETHER WITH
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THE MDP, IT HAS ORGANIZED LETTER-WRITING CAMPAIGNS, PETITIONS AND CIVIC ACTIONS AIMED AT SEEING THAT THE HOLY SEE DOES NOT SHIELD THE POPE FROM THE "OTHER FACE" OF CHILE. THE MDP PUBLICLY ASKED

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FOR AN AUDIENCE WITH THE POPE. A COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED YOUTH COMMITTEE WHOSE TITULAR HEAD IS CARMEN GLORIA QUINTANA HAS PRESSED FOR A SPECIAL HEARING, BUT THE COX COMMISSION NOW DENIES THAT CARMEN GLORIA INTENDS TO COME TO CHILE.

9. RESPONDING TO THE AGITATION SURROUNDING THE VISIT, PAPAL NUNCIO SODANO ASSERTED THAT "HIS HOLINESS DOES NOT NEED US TO SHOW HIM SO MUCH FACE, HE NEEDS ONLY A LOOK OF FRIENDLINESS." MINISTER SECRETARY GENERAL JUAN FRANCISCO CUADRA HAS ISSUED DIRE WARNINGS THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S MANUEL RODRIGUEZ POPULAR FRONT (FPMR) PLANS TO ORGANIZE VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS DURING MARCH TO SHOW THE WORLD THAT CHILE IS GRIPPED BY AN UNMANAGEABLE POLITICAL CRISIS. AS THOUGH ACTING ON CUE, MDP SOCIALIST LEADER CLODOMIRO ALMEYDA PREDICTED FROM LIMA THAT CHILE WOULD WELCOME THE POPE WITH A "FIERY AUTUMN."

10. THE GOC HAS EXPLOITED TO THE HILT THE CONTROVERSY SET OFF BY NEWSPAPER INTERVIEWS IN WHICH LINARES BISHOP CARLOS CAMUS, THE MOST REBELLIOUS OF THE DISSIDENTS, SAID THAT STATE TERRORISM MADE PINOCHET'S WOULD-BE ASSASSINS APPEAR LIKE "HEROES" (REF C). HIS REMARKS ABOUT THE PROS AND CONS OF ARMED STRUGGLE WERE SUBSEQUENTLY RETRACTED IN A STATEMENT BY MSGR. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PINERA, BUT THE GOC REFUSED TO LET IT LIE. ON MARCH 15, IN A STIRRING MASS WHICH FILLED LINARES CATHEDRAL WITH PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS, CAMUS SAID HIS WORDS HAD UPLIFTED A PEOPLE MIRED IN SADNESS AND ARGUED THAT THE CHURCH, WHILE IT DOES NOT SEEK "POLITICAL STRUGGLE," MUST LIGHT THE WAY IN THIS PRECARIOUS ARENA. ON RETURNING FROM THE LATIN AMERICAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCE IN ASUNCION, FRESNO SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO STUDY THE CAMUS INTERVIEWS IN CONTEXT BEFORE GIVING ANY COMMENT. HOWEVER, HE TOOK UMBRAGE AT CAMUS' STATEMENT IMPLYING THAT THE POPE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS OF CONFRONTING A CATHOLIC DICTATOR.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE VISIT

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11. THE NUNCIO'S SECRETARY RENATO VOLANTE MAINTAINS THAT THE GOC HAS NOT BEEN HEAVY-HANDED ABOUT TRYING TO INFLUENCE THE PROGRAM, EXCEPT IN THE PROTOCOLARY PARTS OF THE VISIT. TO MINIMIZE THE POSSIBILITY FOR MANIPULATING THE NEWS, THE COX COMMISSION SET UP ITS OWN NATIONAL NEWS NETWORK WHEREBY TV CHANNEL 13 AND RADIO CHILENA WILL TRANSMIT THE POPE'S PUBLIC ENCOUNTERS AND MASSES DIRECTLY, WITHOUT COMMENTARY. THE GOC HAS INSTEAD INSISTED THAT ITS CHANNEL 7 HANDLE TRANSMISSIONS FOR THE THREE POINTS AT WHICH THE POPE MEETS PINOCHET: IN THE SANTIAGO AIRPORT ON HIS ARRIVAL ON APRIL 1, DURING THE HOUR-LONG MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AND CABINET MINISTERS AT LA MONEDA ON APRIL 2, AND DURING THE FAREWELL CEREMONY IN ANTOFAGASTA AIRPORT ON APRIL 6. THE ISSUE HAS YET TO BE RESOLVED. THE GOC IS ALSO REPORTED TO BE EXTREMELY ANXIOUS OVER THE FORM

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IN WHICH THE POPE IS TO MEET WITH PARTY SPOKESMEN.
THE NUNCIO WILL PROBABLY SCHEDULE AN UNOFFICIAL
MEETING WITH MODERATE OPPOSITION LEADERS DURING
THE POPE'S STAY AT HIS RESIDENCE, BUT IT HAS NOT
BEEN DECIDED WITH WHOM OR HOW.

12. DURING HIS THREE-DAY STAY IN SANTIAGO, THE
POPE IS EXPECTED TO EMPHASIZE THE THEMES OF HUMAN
RIGHTS, FREEDOM AND SOCIAL RECONCILIATION. AMONG
THE HIGHLIGHTS WILL BE AN OPEN-AIR ENCOUNTER WITH
THE POOR IN SANTA ROSA, TO THE SOUTH OF SANTIAGO,
WHICH WILL BRING TOGETHER PERHAPS HALF A

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MILLION INHABITANTS OF WORKING CLASS AREAS ON THE
MORNING OF APRIL 2. AT NOON THE SAME DAY HE WILL
MEET PRIVATELY WITH THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE, A
SESSION WHICH WILL ADDRESS CRUCIAL POLICY ISSUES.
THAT EVENING HE HAS A MEETING WITH SOME 80,000
YOUTH AND STUDENTS IN THE NATIONAL STADIUM. ON
THE FOLLOWING DAY HE WILL MEET WITH CAMPESINOS
IN MAIPU, WITH SOME 1000 BUSINESS, UNION, AND
INTELLECTUAL LEADERS AT SANTIAGO'S CATHOLIC
UNIVERSITY, AND WITH A MASSIVE GATHERING OF THE
FAITHFUL IN A EUCHARIST TO BEATIFY SOR TERESA DE
LOS ANDES IN O'HIGGINS PARK.

13. DURING APRIL 4-6 THE POPE WILL VISIT PUNTA
ARENAS FOR AN ENCOUNTER WITH INHABITANTS OF CHILE'S
EXTREME SOUTHERN ZONE; TO PUERTO MONTT FOR A
EUCHARIST ON THE EVANGELIZATION OF AMERICA; TO
CONCEPCION AND TEMUCO FOR MEETINGS WITH WORKERS,
MAPUCHE INDIANS AND FARMERS; TO LA SERENA FOR AN
ENCOUNTER WITH CHILEANS OF THE NORTHERN ZONE; AND
TO ANTOFAGASTA WHERE, BEFORE LEAVING ON THE 6TH,
HE WILL VISIT A PUBLIC JAIL. IN ALL, CHURCH
OFFICIALS PREDICT HE WILL BE GREETED BY 3 MILLION
CHILEANS.

ARCHBISHOP JOSE SANTOS IS CONCERNED THAT THE
POPE'S OPEN MASS FOR WORKERS IN CONCEPCION,
WHICH WILL BRING TOGETHER SOME 300,000 FAITHFUL
FROM THE REGION, COULD BE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR
DISTURBANCES. HE CONFIDED TO POLOFF THAT HE WAS

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RECEIVING AT LEAST TWO FORM-TYPE LETTERS A DAY
DEMANDING THAT HIS HOLINESS TAKE SPECIFIC
POLITICAL STANDS. MORE THAN ONE LETTER FROM
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APPARENT MDP SOURCES HAD THREATENED TROUBLE.
ALTHOUGH HE FEELS THAT THE LITURGICAL PREPARATIONS
FOR THE EUCHARIST WILL TEND TO QUELL ANY PROTEST,
HE IS TAKING PRECAUTIONS. ON MARCH 19 HE
ANNOUNCED THAT ANY GROUPS WHICH TRIED TO EXPLOIT
THE VISIT POLITICALLY WOULD BE COMMITTING A
"PHENOMENAL MISTAKE" BY VIOLATING THE "HUMAN
RIGHTS" OF THE VAST GROUP OF PEOPLE COMING TO
PRAY WITH THE HOLY FATHER AND MAKING THEMSELVES
REPUGNANT TO THE 90 PERCENT OF CHILEANS WHO ARE
NOT PARTY ACTIVISTS.

14. WHILE HE WILL ALSO ADDRESS THE THEMES OF
SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY IN THE PROVINCES, IT
IS THE SANTIAGO MEETINGS, PARTICULARLY THOSE WITH
THE YOUTH AND THE POOR, WHICH ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE
THE MOST POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT.
ALTHOUGH COX HAS PUBLICLY DISCOURAGED THEM, SOME
PICKET SIGNS MAY BE DISPLAYED. TAKEOVERS OF
VACANT LAND MAY BE STAGED. NEIGHBORHOOD
ORGANIZERS HAVE SAID THEY WILL PRESENT THE POPE
WITH A CUP OF TEA AND A PIECE OF BREAD TO
SYMBOLIZE THE PLIGHT OF THE POOR. IN EACH
PUBLIC ENCOUNTER, THE POPE WILL LISTEN TO, AS
WELL AS COMMENT ON, THE CONCERNS OF SELECTED
COMMUNITY AND PARISH SPOKESPERSONS. ACCORDING
TO MENSAJE EDITOR FATHER RENATO HEVIA, THESE
EXCHANGES WILL MAKE A LASTING IMPRESSION ON THE
PONTIFF. "HE IS WELL AWARE OF CHILE'S HOPES AND
TRIALS. IT IS DIFFERENT TO BE HERE AND SEE THEM,
FEEL THEM, BREATHE THEM."

SMOOTH SAILING?

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ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

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15. TRUE TO THE VATICAN'S SANGUINE APPROACH
(REF B), MSR. RENATO VOLANTE TOLD POLOFFS THAT
THE VISIT SHOULD GO OFF WITHOUT ANY MAJOR HITCH,
DESPITE THE POTENTIAL FOR ISOLATED INCIDENTS.
HE FEELS THAT ANY EFFORT TO INCITE THE LARGE
CROWDS GREETING THE POPE OR TO USE THE OCCASION
FOR POLITICAL PROTEST WOULD PLUNGE THE RADICAL
OPPOSITION INTO EVEN MORE PUBLIC DISCREDIT.
WHILE IT IS "DECEPTIVE" TO CLAIM THAT THE TRIP
PREPARATIONS HAVE IMPROVED CHURCH-GOVERNMENT
RELATIONS, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE TRIP WOULD
HELP THE GOC'S POSITION. IT WAS CONCEIVED, HE

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CONFIDED, DURING A STALLED POINT IN THE BEAGLE
CHANNEL NEGOTIATIONS. THE POPE PROMISED TO
COME TO CHILE, IF AN ACCORD COULD BE REACHED.
IT WAS, AND HE WILL.

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16. MSR. CRISTIAN PRECHT, A FOUNDER OF THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY AND A MOVER IN THE COX COMMISSION, FELT THE MDP WILL TRY TO WHIP UP DEMONSTRATIONS AND WOULD NOT MIND SEEING VIOLENCE AND "MORE MARTYRS." HOWEVER, WHEN THE POPE IS HERE HE EXPECTS CALM TO PREVAIL DUE TO THE STRONG RELIGIOUS FEELING HE WILL GENERATE. THE BIG QUESTION, HE OFFERED, IS WHAT COMES NEXT. "THE POPE WILL GIVE A TREMENDOUS SPIRITUAL BOOST TO PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN PUSHED DOWN TIME AND TIME AGAIN. HAVING HIM HERE WILL BE LIKE A CELEBRATION." HE WORRIED THAT OUTSIDE OF THE CHURCH, ONLY THE COMMUNISTS SEEM TO BE ORGANIZING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE VISIT. "THEY HAVE BEEN ORGANIZING FOR MONTHS, WHILE THE POLITICAL PARTIES WERE FIRST CONCERNED WITH THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE TRIP, THEN TIED UP IN THEIR OWN INTERNAL STRUGGLES," HE COMMENTED.

A DIFFICULT ENCOUNTER

17. SOME OBSERVERS FEEL THAT THE CLIMAX OF THE VISIT WILL BE ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 2 WHEN THE POPE AND THE PRESIDENT, UNACCOMPANIED, WILL RETIRE FOR NEARLY HALF AN HOUR OF CONVERSATION. ACCORDING TO RENATO HEVIA, THIS IS A UNIQUE HISTORICAL MOMENT IN WHICH THE "WORLD'S MOST ADMIRER MAN - ONE WHO IS ABOUT TO UNITE MORE PEOPLE THAN EVER
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BEFORE IN CHILE'S HISTORY - WILL SIT DOWN WITH THE WORLD'S MOST REPUDIATED MAN." IT WILL, HE SPECULATES, BE A "HARD DIALOGUE," IN WHICH THE ONLY SIGN THAT NOTHING HAS HAPPENED WOULD BE TO SEE BOTH EMERGE SERENE AND SMILING.

CONCLUSIONS

18. OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH BOTH DISSIDENT AND MODERATE BISHOPS MAKE CLEAR THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THEIR FEELING THAT THE OPPOSITION IS FAST RUNNING OUT OF TIME TO GET ITSELF TOGETHER. GIVEN A DIVIDED CLERGY, A SOMEWHAT CONFUSED OPPOSITION, AND A REPRESSIVE BUT ESSENTIALLY UNCORRUPTED DICTATOR WHO IS CATHOLIC, THE POPE IS UNLIKELY TO MAKE THE KIND

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OF SHARP PUBLIC STAND HE TOOK AGAINST THE
NICARAGUAN REGIME. BUT HE IS JUST AS UNLIKELY
TO GIVE ANY COMFORT TO PINOCHET. HE WILL GATHER
GREAT MULTITUDES AROUND A MESSAGE OF HOPE AND
RECONCILIATION, VALIDATING THE CHILEAN CHURCH'S
COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY. IF
THE MODERATE PARTIES ARE ABLE TO FOLLOW UP WITH
A CLEAR STRATEGY HIS PRESENCE COULD WELL
ENCOURAGE COMPROMISE AND SPUR THE INCIPIENT
CAMPAIGN FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, WHOSE
COMPELLING AND POSITIVE GOALS MAY BE ECHOED BY
THE PONTIFF. ON THE OTHER HAND, ALL THE POLITICAL
ELEMENTS IN CHILE WILL SEEK TO USE THE POPE'S
VISIT TO TRY TO REINFORCE THEIR POSITIONS, CASTING
DOUBT THAT THE POPE'S VISIT CAN BRING ABOUT
RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE MODERATE OPPOSITION
AND THE MILITARY. RATHER, WE EXPECT IT IS MORE
LIKELY THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION GROUPS

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ACTION ARA-00

INFO	LOG-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-10	EUR-00	SS-00
	CIAE-00	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00
	COME-00	HA-09	L-03	LAB-04	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01
	STR-17	SIL-01	OPM-01	USIE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	PRS-01
	DS-01	DSE-00	/091 W				

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P 201809Z MAR 87
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0661
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

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ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPRP, SCUL, PREL, PGOV, PINS, CI

SUBJ: PREVIEW OF PAPAL VISIT

WILL HARDEN THEIR POSITIONS IN LIGHT OF PERCEIVED
OR CLAIMED PAPAL SUPPORT, MAKING ANY AGREEMENT
THAT MUCH HARDER TO REACH.
JONES

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